United Nations

Centre against Apartheid

Notes and Documents

20/90 November 1990

WESTERN SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

by

The Association of West European Parliamentarians
for Action against Apartheid

[Note: This issue contains the text of a survey carried out by the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid (AWEPPA) on economic sanctions instituted by Western countries against South Africa as at July 1990.

In addition, the Centre against Apartheid has included in the present issue the text of a statement issued on 15 December 1990 by the European Council of Ministers updating its position on the issue of sanctions (See Sect. II.D).

The views expressed herein are those of the authors.]

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I. SUMMARY OF WESTERN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA (JULY 1990)*

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* Key to symbols (see also p. 9 of the present issue):

TOT	=	Total ban
nt	=	Near-total ban
p	=	Partial ban
( )	=	Unofficial or voluntary
5 + year	=	Loans with maturity of 5 years and longer
?	=	Unclear or unknown
-	=	No ban in force

READEX FICHE

	INVESTMENTS					NEW LOANS	
	Withdrawal	Replacement	New investments	Profit reinvestment	Via third country licensing, patent leasing	To South African company	To South African Government
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY							
BELGIUM	-	-	(p)	-	-	(5 + year)	-
DENMARK	-	-	TOT	nt	TOT	TOT	TOT
FRANCE	-	-	p	-	-	5 + year	-
GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF	-	-	(p)	-	-	(5 + year)	-
GREECE	-	-	p	-	-	5 + year	-
IRELAND	-	-	p	-	-	5 + year	-
ITALY	-	-	p	-	-	5 + year	-
LUXEMBOURG	-	-	(p)	-		(5 + year)	-
NETHERLANDS	-	-	(p)	-	-	(5 + year)	-
PORTUGAL	-	-	p	-	-	(5 + year)	-
SPAIN	-	-	p	-	-	5 + year	-
UNITED KINGDOM	-	-	ban lifted	-	-	ban lifted	-
NORDIC COUNTRIES							
DENMARK	-	-	TOT	nt	TOT	TOT	TOT
FINLAND	-	-	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT
ICELAND		No investments existing				TOT	TOT
NORWAY	-	-	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT
SWEDEN	-	-	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT
COMMONWEALTH							
AUSTRALIA	-	-	(nt)	(nt)	-	(TOT)	TOT
CANADA	-	-	(nt)	(nt)	-	(TOT)	(TOT)
NEW ZEALAND	-	-	(p)	-	-	(TOT)	(TOT)
UNITED KINGDOM	-	-	ban lifted	-	-	ban lifted	-
OTHERS							
AUSTRIA	-	-	(p)	-	-	-	-
JAPAN	-	-	p	-	-	(p)	(p)
SWITZERLAND	-	-	-	-	-	(p)	(p)
UNITED STATES	-	-	p	p	-	nt	nt

	TRADE CREDITS		MISCELLANEOUS		
	Supply	Reinsurance by own Government	Double taxation agreement	South African investment in own country	Trade, general and commercial relations
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY					
BELGIUM	-	p	-	-	No sale of nuclear fuel
DENMARK	TOT	TOT	-	-	Ban includes services
FRANCE	-	-	-	-	
GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF	-	p	-	-	
GREECE	-	-	-	-	
IRELAND	-	p	-	-	No trade and promotion by Government
ITALY	-	p	TOT	-	No Italian-South Afican chamber of commerce No sale of civilian aircraft
LUXEMBOURG	-	-	-	-	
NETHERLANDS	-	TOT	-	-	
PORTUGAL	-	-	-	-	Trade missions funding limited
SPAIN	-	-	TOT	-	
UNITED KINGDOM	-	-	-	-	No government funding of trade missions and fairs
NORDIC COUNTRIES					
DENMARK	TOT	TOT	-	TOT	Ban includes services
FINLAND	TOT	TOT	-	-	Ban includes services, trade via third countries, maritime and telecommunication
ICELAND	TOT	TOT	-	-	
NORWAY	TOT	TOT	-	-	Ban includes services
SWEDEN	TOT	TOT	-	-	No export via third countries No maritime relations
COMMONWEALTH					
AUSTRALIA	(TOT)	TOT	TOT	nt	No trade support, government sales or contracts to South African firms
CANADA	(p)	TOT	TOT	-	No trade support, government sales or contracts to South African firms
NEW ZEALAND	(TOT)	TOT	TOT	-	No trade support, government sales or contracts to South African firms
UNITED KINGDOM	-	-	-	-	No government funding of trade missions and fairs
OTHERS					
AUSTRIA	-	p	-	-	
JAPAN	-	-	-	-	No official trade information to South Africans No government personnel on South African Airways
SWITZERLAND	-	-	-	-	
UNITED STATES	-	TOT	TOT	-	No trade support, use of United States banks, limited, no import from South African Government (excluding strategic minerals)

	IMPORTS						
	Coal	Iron and steel	Including ore and ferro-alloys	Gold coins	Agricultural	Strategic minerals	Uranium
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY							
BELGIUM	-	nt	-	nt	-	-	-
DENMARK	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT
FRANCE	nt	nt	-	nt	-	-	-
GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY	-	nt	-	nt	-	-	-
GREECE	-	nt	-	nt	-	-	-
IRELAND	nt	nt	-	nt	nt	-	-
ITALY	-	nt	-	nt	-	-	-
LUXEMBOURG	-	nt	-	nt	-	-	-
NETHERLANDS	(Local electricity plants)	nt	-	nt	-	-	p
PORTUGAL	-	nt	-	nt	-	-	-
SPAIN	-	nt	-	nt	-	-	p
UNITED KINGDOM	(Local electricity plants)	nt	-	nt	-	-	-
NORDIC COUNTRIES							
DENMARK	---------- TOTAL TRADE BAN ----------						
FINLAND	---------- TOTAL TRADE BAN ----------						
ICELAND	---------- TOTAL TRADE BAN ----------						
NORWAY	---------- TOTAL TRADE BAN ----------						
SWEDEN	---------- TOTAL TRADE BAN ----------						
COMMONWEALTH							
AUSTRALIA	TOT	nt	-	TOT	TOT	-	TOT
CANADA	TOT	nt	-	(TOT)	TOT	-	(TOT)
NEW ZEALAND	TOT	nt	ore only	TOT	TOT	-	TOT
UNITED KINGDOM	(Local electricity plants)	nt	-	nt	-	-	-
OTHERS							
AUSTRIA	-	nt	?	nt	-	-	-
JAPAN	(p)	nt	(ore only)	(nt)	p	-	(p)
SWITZERLAND	-	-	-	-	-	-	(TOT)
UNITED STATES	TOT	nt	ore only	TOT	TOT including textiles	p	nt

	EXPORTS						NUCLEAR	AIR LINKS	TOURISM
	Oil					Computers			
	Crude oil	Oil products	From bonded storage	Transport Own (flag)	Transport Foreign	to South African army and police	Co-operation goods and technology	South African Airways and own carrier	Promotion advertising, sales, etc.
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY									
BELGIUM	TOT	TOT	?	-	-	TOT	p	-	-
DENMARK	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	p
FRANCE	TOT	TOT	-	-	-	(TOT)	nt	-	-
GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF	TOT	-	-	-	-	(TOT)	TOT	-	-
GREECE	TOT	?	?	TOT	-	TOT	TOT	-	-
IRELAND	TOT	TOT	?	-	-	(TOT)	TOT	TOT	(p)
ITALY	TOT	TOT	?	-	-	(TOT)	TOT	-	-
LUXEMBOURG	TOT	-	-	-	-	(TOT)	TOT	-	-
NETHERLANDS	TOT	-	-	-	-	(TOT)	TOT	-	-
PORTUGAL	TOT	-	-	-	-	(TOT)	p	-	-
SPAIN	TOT	TOT	-	-	-	(TOT)	p	nt	p
UNITED KINGDOM	p	-	-	-	-	nt	p	-	(p)
NORDIC COUNTRIES									
DENMARK	--- TOTAL TRADE BAN ---			TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	p
FINLAND	--- TOTAL TRADE BAN ---			TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT
ICELAND	--- TOTAL TRADE BAN ---			-	-	TOT	TOT	TOT	-
NORWAY	--- TOTAL TRADE BAN ---			TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	nt
SWEDEN	--- TOTAL TRADE BAN ---			TOT	-	TOT	TOT	TOT	p
COMMONWEALTH									
AUSTRALIA	TOT	TOT	-	-	-	TOT	TOT	TOT	(nt)
CANADA	(TOT)	(nt)	-	(p)	-	TOT	TOT	TOT	(nt)
NEW ZEALAND	(TOT)	(nt)	-	-	-	TOT	TOT	TOT	(nt)
UNITED KINGDOM	p	-	-	-	-	(TOT)	p	-	(p)
OTHERS									
AUSTRIA	p	-	-	-	-	TOT	p	-	-
JAPAN	p	-	-	-	-	p	TOT	TOT	(p)
SWITZERLAND	-	-	-	-	-	TOT	p	-	-
UNITED STATES	TOT	nt	TOT	-	-	TOT	TOT	TOT	p

Explanatory notes

Economic sanctions

Several categories of sanctions are not included in this schedule: the arms embargo and cultural, sporting and diplomatic sanctions. Some measures do not belong distinctly to one category only. For instance, oil supply and transport, computers and nuclear relations are clearly of strategic-military importance, but are listed here nevertheless.

Not included are the application of various codes of conduct for companies with subsidiaries in South Africa. Although these codes are part of the anti-apartheid policies of countries or groups of countries, they are not considered sanctions as they take existing investments for granted and do not put any economic restriction on them.

National government policy

The survey lists only measures as implemented by national law and/or other regulations of nationwide application, which in most cases give an adequate picture of the overall situation in a particular country. An exception is made for the ban on South African coal by regional public energy enterprises in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, in order to give a better overview of the situation on imports of South African coal.

The most notable case of "underrepresentation" is that of the United States, where a great number of states and cities have taken various measures, mostly in the fields of investments, loans and banking relations, which are too numerous and varied to be included here. Other cases of "local sanctions" and achievements of campaigns by non-government solidarity organizations are listed in the Annex to the 1990 Commonwealth study, entitled The Sanctions Report Documents, prepared by Sandra Ferguson and Peter Sluiter.

Groups of countries

Measures jointly taken by groups of countries sometimes show considerable variation in their national implementation, mostly so among the countries of the European Community (EC). This package has a very limited scope in comparison with those of the Nordic and Commonwealth countries (with the exception of the United Kingdom): iron, steel and gold coins (implemented by joint EC measures) and new direct investments, including loans of a maturity of more than five years, crude oil exports, computers and nuclear co-operation (implemented nationally and differently).

Denmark is listed twice, as an EC country and a Nordic country, but its sanctions package is wholely Nordic. The United Kingdom is listed under both EC and the Commonwealth, though it has implemented both sanctions packages in a most limited sense and even lifted its unofficial ban on new investments prematurely, in February 1990.

Explanation of symbols

"TOT" indicates a total ban in the particular field. A measure is still listed as "TOT" if exceptions are made only for information or medical-humanitarian reasons (many Nordic and Commonwealth sanctions) or if temporary and partial exemptions are granted, which sometimes happens in the first phase of implementation.

"nt" indicates that the ban is near-total, in terms of scope or economic impact of the measure.

"p" indicates an even further reduction of the scope and economic importance of a measure.

"(...)" indicates that measures between parentheses are unoffical or voluntary. They are not implemented by any law or other binding regulation, but the authorities have issued an appeal or request to the business community to refrain from that particular economic activity. This does not necessarily imply that the measure is actually implemented by the economic interests involved.

"-" indicates that this economic relation is not banned or restricted by any official of unofficial-voluntary government measure. In many cases, this means that investments, loans, trade, etc., exist actually and legally, but sometimes this is not the case.

"?" is used a few times with respect to the supply of oil from bonded storage and of oil products, and once for iron ore and ferro-alloys. The AWEPAA office has indications that these are not banned, but has insufficient documentary proof to warrant a clear "-".

All symbols indicate the legal status and the intended scope of a sanctions measure only. They do not indicate the extent to which they are applied or evaded by private interests or how successful Governments are (or want to be) in their actual implementation.

Oil

The oil embargo is the most notable example where the indication "TOT" might represent a measure as politically and economically more important than it is in actual fact. Maintaining investments in refining installations and distribution inside South Africa and crude oil shipments from oil producing countries have hardly been affected by Western measures and have always been far more important than crude oil exports from Western countries themselves. Of the important shipping countries, only Denmark and Norway of the Nordic countries have taken effective measures with considerable impact.

Iron and steel

EC bans on iron and steel are labeled "nt" in scope, but exclude the import of iron ore and ferro-alloys, which are economically quite important.

Gold

The ban on gold coins is mostly labeled "nt" when it excludes Krugerrands

that were already in circulation within EC countries before the ban went into force. More importantly, there is no ban on the import and sale of gold bullion.

Investments and loans

The ban on new investments and loans of EC and some other countries is labeled "p" as it includes only the direct transfer of funds for investment purposes and loans with a participatory nature and maturity of over five years. Maintaining existing investments and loans is not banned by any Western country.

Trade credits (reinsurance)

Limitation of trade credits (reinsurance) is sometimes motivated by political reasons (Nordic and Commonwealth countries, United States of America), sometimes arising from commercial assessment, or for mixed reasons (which are not always easy to establish).

Air links

This column lists only politically motivated termination of direct air links with South African Airways and national (or other non-South African) airlines. Countries qualified as "-" therefore do not necessarily have direct air links with South Africa with either airline, but have not banned those as a sanctions measure.

Computers

The listing "TOT" might give a more positive impression than would be warranted in actuality. It is difficult to prevent resale by civil South African purchasers to the army and the police, unless the law is very tightly phrased, controlled and enforced.

II. SANCTIONS AND ANTI-APARTHEID POLICY: SELECTED DOCUMENTS

A. United Nations General Assembly

In a declaration adopted by consensus on 14 December 1989 (resolution S-16/1), the United Nations General Assembly declared, among other things, that the end to apartheid and the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democracy should be the goals of negotiations, and not the amendment or reform of the apartheid system.

The General Assembly further declared that a new constitutional order, based on the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, should be the outcome of this process, in which the following fundamental principles were of importance:

(a) South Africa should become a united, non-racial and democratic State;

(b) All its people should enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed;

(c) All its people should have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of universal, equal suffrage, under a non-racial voters' roll, and by secret ballot, in a united and non-fragmented South Africa;

(d) All should have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that it was not in furtherance of racism;

(e) All should enjoy universally recognized human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched bill of rights;

(f) South Africa should have a legal system that would guarantee equality of all before the law;

(g) South Africa should have an independent and non-racial judiciary;

(h) There should be created an economic order that would promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans;

(i) A democratic South Africa should respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples.

In order to create the necessary climate for negotiations, the South African régime should, at least:

(a) Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them;

(b) Lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons;

(c) Remove all troops from the townships;

(d) End the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity;

(e) Cease all political trials and political executions.

These measures would help create the necessary climate in which free political discussion could take place - an essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participated in the process of remaking their country.

In the programme of action set out in the Declaration, the States Members affirmed their decision:

(a) To use concerted and effective measures, including the full observance by all countries of the mandatory arms embargo, aimed at applying pressure to ensure a speedy end to apartheid;

(b) To ensure that the international community did not relax existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African régime to eradicate apartheid, until there was clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of the Declaration.

B. European Parliament

On 14 June 1990, the European Parliament adopted, by a majority of over 75 per cent, a resolution in which it was stated that most of the laws that institutionalized the apartheid system remained in force and that the South African Government still had to take many of the steps set out in the United Nations declaration of 14 December 1989 (see section II.A above).

While welcoming the positive changes in South Africa's policy and the response of Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) to the opportunity to abolish apartheid, the Parliament supported Mr. Mandela's appeal to all Governments not to take any premature steps towards lifting, even partially, sanctions against the South African Government.

The European Parliament:

(a) Considered that it would be extremely undesirable for the European Community to abandon its anti-apartheid sanctions policy prior to the conclusion of an agreement on the establishment of a new constitutional order in South Africa, under which all citizens were treated as equals in a non-racial democratic society;

(b) Called upon the member States that were currently proposing the partial or phased relaxation of European Community sanctions against South Africa to reconsider their positions in the light of the enormity of the human rights violations that were perpetrated under the apartheid system and with due regard to their past resolve to abolish the apartheid régime;

(c) Appealed, accordingly, to the Council of Ministers which was to meet on 18 June in Luxembourg and to the European Council on 25 and 26 June in Dublin to ensure that all sanctions, including economic, cultural and sporting sanctions, by the European Community and its member States were continued and implemented against South Africa until apartheid was completely and irrevocably abolished.

C. United States Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986

Under the United States Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, the President of the United States may suspend or modify United States sanctions once South Africa:

(a) Releases all persons persecuted for their political beliefs or detained unduly without trial and Nelson Mandela from prison;

(b) Implements three out of the following four points:

(i) Repeals the state of emergency and releases all detainees held under it;

(ii) Unbans democratic political parties and permits the free exercise by South Africans of all races of the rights to form political parties, express political opinions and otherwise participate in the political process;

(iii) Repeals the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act and institutes no other measures with the same purposes;

(iv) Agrees to enter into good faith negotiations with truly representative members of the black majority without preconditions.

The Act mentions as goals of the United States policy:

(a) To bring about reforms in the South African system of Government that will lead to the establishment of a non-racial democracy.

(b) The same points as above (slightly differently phrased) and:

(i) The establishment of a timetable for the elimination of apartheid laws;

(ii) Putting an end to military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighbouring States.

D. European Council of Ministers

Dublin Summit, 25 June 1990

At its Dublin Summit, the European Council of Ministers stated:

"5. The objective of the European Community and its member States is the complete dismantlement of the apartheid system by peaceful means and without delay, and its replacement by a united, non-racial and democratic state in which all people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and where respect for universally recognized human rights is guaranteed. They welcome the joint commitment between the South African Government and ANC in the Groote Schuur Minute to stability and a peaceful process of negotiations. They call on all parties in South Africa to endorse this objective. It is the intention of the European Community and its member States to encourage, by every means available to them, the early opening of negotiations leading to the creation of a united, non-racial, and democratic South Africa.

"6. Negotiations on a new South Africa should get under way without delay. The substantial progress towards removal of the obstacles represented by the state of emergency and the detention of political prisoners is welcome. The European Council looks forward to an early agreement between the South African Government and ANC on the conditions in which exiles can return and on the definition of political prisoners leading to their release. The European Council calls on all parties to remove the remaining obstacles to peaceful negotiations and to refrain from violence.

...

"9. At its meeting in Strasbourg in December last, the European Council decided that the Community and its member States would maintain pressure that they exert on the South African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly stood for. The European Council affirms its willingness to consider a gradual relaxation of this pressure when there is clear evidence that the process of change already initiated continues in the direction called for at Strasbourg."

Statement on South Africa issued on 15 December 1990*

In a statement issued on 15 December 1990, the European Council of Ministers said:

"The Community and its member States have consistently followed developments in South Africa with the greatest attention and have given a favourable reception to the initiatives that have been taken to bring about the abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. They have already expressed approval of the results of the talks between the Government and the African National Congress, in particular those of the Pretoria meeting in August, which opened the way to the negotiation of a new constitution.

"They deplore the phase of serious violence through which South Africa is passing, which may endanger these developments. They welcome, however, further indications serving to confirm that the process of change already begun is going ahead in the direction advocated by the Strasbourg European Council. They have decided to continue to encourage this process.

"Against this background the European Council has decided that as soon as legislative action is taken by the Government of South Africa to repeal the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts, the Community and its member States will proceed to an easing of the set of measures adopted in 1986.

"As of now, so as to contribute to combating unemployment and improving the economic and social situation in South Africa, and to encourage the movement under way aimed at the complete abolition of apartheid, the European Council has decided to lift the ban on new investments.

"At the same time, the Community and its member States, with the objective of sending a clear signal of political support to the victims of apartheid, and intending to contribute to a new economic and social balance in South Africa, have agreed to strengthen the programme of positive measures and to adapt it to the requirements of the new situation, including requirements related to the return and resettlement of the exiles.

"The Community and its member States hope in this way to be able to contribute to the speeding up of the process under way through sending to all the parties involved in negotiation a concrete sign of support for the establishment of a new South Africa, united, non-racal and democratic, and capable of resuming the place it deserves in the international community."

E. Commonwealth

In a letter to the European Community on 17 May 1990, the Commonwealth Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs on Southern Africa stated that encouragement of the process of reconciliation and democratic reconstruction

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* This statement was issued subsequent to the preparation of the present study. The text was inserted by the Centre against Apartheid.

which might now be beginning in South Africa, should not at that time take the form of lifting or modifying any of the sanctions against South Africa presently in place.

The Ministers pointed out that while it was a time of unprecedented opportunity, it was not yet a time of change, as not one of the pillars of apartheid had yet been dismantled: the Constitution, the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and the Separate Amenities Act.

Nor had even the preliminary obstacles to substantive negotiations - identified by the United Nations - been removed, and repression continued.

F. Nordic countries

On 7 March 1990, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Nordic Countries declared that they "consider that there is still need to uphold international pressure against the South African authorities in order to contribute to the complete dismantling of the system of apartheid". For that reason the Nordic countries did not regard it as opportune to lift their economic sanctions against South Africa.

III. PROGRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA AS A CONDITION FOR THE RELAXATION OF SANCTIONS

The following survey, taken in early July 1990, summarizes the extent to which South African authorities have met the aims and conditions, as formulated by the United Nations, various parliaments, Governments and groups of Governments, that are relevant in the discussion on lifting Western sanctions against South Africa. Some of these are "final aims" and thus part of the process of the abolition of apartheid as a system; others are, rather, conditions to create the necessary climate for negotiations.

- Profound and irreversible changes towards the end of apartheid	No
- Abolition of key apartheid legislation (e.g., Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act, Land Acts)	No
- Abolition of "homelands"	No
- Abolition of the Separate Amenities Act	Yes
- Entering into good faith negotiations with representatives of the majority	No
- Abolition of the death penalty at political trials	Suspended for six months
- Complete lifting of the state of emergency in all aspects*	Not in Natal*
- Repeal of other legislation, circumscribing political activity (e.g., the Internal Security Act*)	Partial

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* It must be pointed out that previous restrictive legislation is once more in force, and in some cases contains stricter regulations than those of the state of emergency e.g., the Internal Security Act and police legislation. A concrete example is the length of detention without trial (maximum six months under the state of emergency and now again indefinite and without access to court). However, the state of emergency in Natal was lifted on 18 October 1990.

- Suspension of political trials	No
- Release of political prisoners and detainees, without imposing any restrictions on them	Partial
- Allowing unrestricted political activities by all organizations and persons	Partial
- Immunity from prosecution for all returning exiles	Partial
- Removal of troops from the townships	Partial
- Abolition of detention without trial	Partial
- Abolition of all media restrictions, including television coverage of "scenes of unrest"	Partial
- Abolition of forced removals to and forced incorporation of people into "homelands"	No
- Cessation of military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighbouring States	Partial

IV. DOCUMENTATION

The most recent analysis of the economic and political impact of current sanctions on South Africa's policy can be found in the following publication:

Joseph Hanlon, South Africa, the Sanctions Report, prepared for the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa (Penguin Books 1989, ISBN 0-14-052396-0).

Details and explanations of most measures can be found in a more detailed country-by-country overview, with data collected by Sandra Ferguson and Peter Sluiter in the annex to the Commonwealth study, The Sanctions Report - Documents (James Currey, 1990).

A political assessment of the implementation of the EC sanctions package was given in the Report of the Committee on External Economic Relations of the European Parliament, by Mrs. Barbara Simons, member of the European Parliament (document A 2-151/87), available in all official EC languages.

Specialized agencies

The following specialized agencies can supply documentation both on legislation and regulations, as well as on actual developments in the most important strategic and economic relations with the West:

AWEPAA Office, Prins Hendrikkade 48, 1012 AC Amsterdam, Netherlands, telephone (31.20)-26.66.39, fax (31.20)-22.01.30, telex 10236 sanam nl., provides selected documents (legislation, regulations, policy statements, parliamentary resolutions, etc.)

The United Nations Centre against Apartheid collects and distributes documentation on all aspects of sanctions against South Africa, including military, economic, cultural, diplomatic and sporting sanctions: United Nations, Room S-3577, New York, NY 10017, United States of America, telephone (1-212)-963-5311, fax (1-212)-963-5305, telex 012.61.71.

National anti-apartheid organizations produce documentation on the situation in their respective countries.

By topics

Oil and coal: Shipping Research Bureau, P.O. Box 11898, 1001 GW Amsterdam, Netherlands, telephone (31.20)-25.13.00/26.60.73 (oil only)/20.00.66 (coal only), fax (31.20)-22.01.30, telex 10236 sanam nl.

Military and nuclear: World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, P.O. Box 2, Lindeberg Gaard, Oslo-10, Norway, telephone (47.2)-30.13.45, fax (47.2)-30.33.81, telex 72.314 aamn.

Bank Loans: End Loans to South Africa (ELTSA), 56 Camberwell Road, London SE5 OEA, United Kingdom, telephone (44.71)-708.4702, fax (44.71)-708.5751.

Sports: SAN-ROC, P.O. Box 235, London NW3 5T5, United Kingdom, telephone (44.71)-435.7775, fax (44.71)-433.1969.

Courtesy of Centre against Apartheid